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Translated by  
Defense Language Branch.

EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS OF PROCEEDINGS  
IN THE HOUSE OF PEERS AT THE 60TH, 61ST,  
62ND AND 63RD SESSIONS OF THE IMPERIAL DIET

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SPEECH DELIVERED BY  
MINISTER OF STATE YOSHIZAWA  
(pp. 6 - 7)

RECORDS OF PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF PEERS  
AT THE 60TH SESSION OF THE IMPERIAL DIET, NO. 2,  
EXTRA OF OFFICIAL GAZETTE, JANUARY 22ND, 1932

Gentlemen, it gives me a great pleasure to have an opportunity to set forth my views on some of the more important matters in the foreign relations of our country. Needless to say, the Manchurian Incident is one of the most serious diplomatic problems and has startled the whole world. As our immediate neighbor, China has from former times had very important relations with our country, socially, politically and economically. Especially with regard to Manchuria, serious political consideration is required in view of her past history as well as her contiguity to Japan. It is also beyond question that whether public peace and order in Manchuria is maintained or not matters a great deal to our country. Moreover, Japan has more than a million Japanese residents in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, also, numerous rights and interests under treaties and contracts in regard to leased territories, railways, and coal mines.

In recent years, however, the Chinese Government authorities have come to regard lightly the fact that Manchuria is what she is today thru the efforts of Japan. Having become over-familiar with the magnanimous attitude of Japan, they persecuted our national and trampled upon our treaty and contract rights and interests. Such cases have occurred one after another. Frequent protests were filed and repeated warnings were given by our country concerning this, but they proved almost of no avail. As a result, not only were our political relations with those regions made insecure, but our rights and interests were obviously jeopardized. Thus, the feelings of both our government and people were gradually

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wounded, when on the night of September 18 a railway blasting incident suddenly broke out, followed by clashes between Japanese and Chinese Army units. The subsequent developments of the matter which at length led to a complete change in the political situation of Manchuria are as you are all well aware.

Manchuria may properly be said to be the key to the maintenance of peace and order in the Far East. It was so even before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, and we feel it all the more so at present. Especially because our country holds vast rights and interests in the region, we have always been making strenuous efforts to prevent Manchuria from being affected by civil wars that broke out within China Proper. It was solely because the maintenance of peace and order in the territory was of absolute necessity to our country. Fortunately, owing to endeavors on our part, Manchuria has in the past been kept from the effects of civil strifes in China Proper as if it were a different world. Had it not been for the unlawful acts on the part of China, and had our treaty and contractual rights been duly respected, I believe the affairs in Manchuria would never have been so entangled as they are today, notwithstanding such occurrence as the September 18 incident.

As may be seen from what I have stated, peace and order in Manchuria has hitherto been largely maintained by our efforts. And in the future too the responsibility of Japan in this respect would rather become weightier than lightened. In connection with Japan's position in Manchuria, I must add that Japan has no

territorial design in Manchuria. Of course she abides by the principles of open door and equal opportunity, not to speak of existing treaties. What Japan desires in Manchuria is that by securing public order and effecting economic development the region be made a place of peaceful living both for the natives and aliens.

Now, let me turn to the present state of affairs in China proper. For many years past the anti-Japanese movement there has been continuously carried on. Sometimes it showed relaxation, but soon it regained strength and became vigorous again. It was not a mere movement for the severance of economic relations by boycotting Japanese goods and other similar means, but had its spiritual side such as adopting in school books materials calculated to inspire anti-Japanism. There is much corroborative evidence that the movement has been conducted against the free will of Chinese tradesmen in general under the pressure and coercion of such private organizations as the Anti-Japanese Association and have been encouraged or directed by the Chinese Government authorities. There were even those who made anti-Japanese agitation their occupation, and very lucrative one for that matter.

Since the outbreak of the Manchurian affair last autumn, the movement has again showed a turn for the worse and to our regret innumerable cases of outrage to our nationals have occurred. It is a very sharp contrast that while the Chinese residents here in Japan are placed under perfect protection, the Japanese nationals in China are being subjected to indescribably harsh treatment.

In China civil wars and factional strifes have been almost incessantly going on in recent years, and those internal disturbances have often produced serious effects on her foreign relations. It is needless to say that the anti-Japanese movement may also be attributed to the internal political affairs, and I believe the anti-Japanese attitude of the local government authorities in Manchuria before the outbreak of the Manchurian Affair may likewise be accounted for. In fine, it is an undeniable fact that civil wars and factional strifes in China have had far-reaching effects on her foreign relations, and as one of her immediate neighbors Japan has always been the greatest sufferer from such internal disturbances.

Unfortunately the Sino-Japanese relations are thus affected largely by the intricate circumstances arising from China's internal affairs and foreign relations. It may consequently require considerable time to better the relations and restore the two nations to their normal friendship. The cause of the Manchurian Affair is attributable to self-defense on the part of Japan and that of the anti-Japanese movement to erroneous ideas on the part of China. It is therefore imperative that the Chinese should reflect on their own conduct and radically reform their attitude towards the Japanese. Of course the Chinese populace and intellectual classes are not altogether hostile to Japan. I believe they are rather friendly to us at heart. So we need not necessarily be pessimistic about the restoration of Sino-Japanese relations to normalcy. The two nations ought to respect and like each other

and to be in principle bound in close friendship, regarding untoward occurrences rather as exceptions.

The outbreak of the Manchurian Affair gave a considerable shock to the general assembly and Council of the League of Nations then in session at Geneva, and on September 21 1931 the Chinese representative formally appealed to the Council under Article 11 of the Covenant to deliberate on the matter. Thus the affair was formally brought before the Council of the League of Nations. After holding three sessions for the deliberation of this matter, it adopted two resolutions as is well known to everybody. On the other hand the United States, though not a member of the League, has acted on the whole in concert with the League, apparently because she was as a signatory to the Anti-war Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty deeply concerned about the situation in the Far East. To both the League of Nations and the United States our Government has always been making clear our position in regard to the Manchurian Affair. In the course of the Affair there have sometimes been delicate developments in our relations with the United States as well as the League. However, carrying on negotiations with cordiality and scrupulousness, we have clarified our position and made our rights and interests recognized by them, so that they have gradually understood our attitude. It is also gratifying that the Soviet Union has assumed an attitude of strict neutrality throughout the progress of the Manchurian Affair.

As regards the Disarmament Conference to be opened on February 2<sup>nd</sup>, our Government has already decided on its policy and given

instructions to our delegates about it. As the conference is the first large-scale one to discuss the land, sea and air arms, there is no doubt that it will be looked upon with great anticipation by the whole world. While of course endeavoring to carry through our purpose, it is our earnest desire that the conference may bring about fair and rational results and contribute to the establishment of lasting peace of the world. It has been the constant spirit of the Japanese since the Meiji Restoration to keep open our country to foreign intercourse and promote national progress. To "seek for knowledge far and wide throughout the world", as set forth in the Great Emperor Meiji's Covenant of Five Articles, has ever been our aim and object. It is therefore the ideal of our diplomatic policy that while guarding our rights and interests, we would act in cooperation with other nations of the world, so that we may share in the benefits of civilization, and I am resolved to further the enhancement of our national prosperity and the welfare of our people under this ideal.

C E R T I F I C A T E

Statement of source and authenticity

I, ONIZUKA, Meiji, Chief librarian of the House of Peers, hereby certify that the document attached hereto in Japanese consisting of 11 pages and entitled "stenographic records of the Proceedings in the house of Peers" is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the official document in the custody of the Japanese Government (the House of Peers).

Signed at Tokyo on this 22nd day of January, 1947.

The house of Peers (seal of librarian in the General Affairs Bureau of the house of Peers).

I, THINGAMI, Yutaka, hereby certify that the above statement was sworn by the Deponent, who affixed his signature and seal thereto in the presence of this witness.

On the same date at the same place

witness: (signed)

THINGAMI, Yutaka (seal)

TRANSLATION CERTIFICATE

I, William L. Clarke, of the Defense Language Branch, hereby certify that the foregoing translation described in the above certificate is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a correct translation and is as near as possible to the meaning of the original document.

/s/ William L. Clarke

Tokyo, Japan

Date 10 February 1947